579 reason, he suddenly took his rifle and shot down the foremost of these. As soon as the Ebäangon people saw that one of their men, a son of their chief to boot, was killed, they quickly ran back to get their rifles. The Bebai people who sided with them waited for them, and all together they moved against the hostile Bebai villages, where they had a shooting bout with Makina's men, without, however, any blood being spilled. The Ebäangon people spent the night in the houses of the friendly Bebai people. The next day they resumed the fighting, and again nobody was killed; however, the Ebäangon people succeeded in burning down Makina's village. Thereupon the "victors" returned to Ebäangon. After two days they renewed their attack, but achieved nothing.

579 628 At this point Makina wanted to have the whole affair over and done with, so he sent two women as payment to Schüe. The latter kept the women, but was by no means inclined to make peace. On the contrary, his people again raided Makina's villages. Then Makina's patience came to an end. He went to the chief of Messelle, a large village on the right side of the Campo, and requested him to settle the argument. When Schüe heard this, he sent the two women back to Makina's village and dispatched four of his sons as representatives to the negotiations at /250/ Messelle. The decision ran thus: Makina was in the wrong because "it was he who in the first place talked insolently against Schüe, it was his son, Bekongo, who started the entire fight at the festival for the souls, and he is therefore responsible for the death of Schüe's son." Thereupon the chief of Messelle immediately seized Makina and demanded his court fee -- five sheep -- from Schüe's party, at the same time promising Schüe in exchange the extradition of Makina. After the payment was made and Makina had been extradited, Schüe's sons demanded that Makina summon his guilty son. Makina declared himself unable to do so and was beaten down with cudgels -- on the Mburru -- and his corpse was thrown in the river. /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text./ At the news of these events, brought to Ebäangon by Schüe's sons, Makina's people seized their rifles and in turn moved against Ebäangon, burning half of Schüe's village to the ground. With this, the need for revenge of both parties

had been satisfied, because on either side
the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
The matter would have gone on, because
the Bebai people were still dissatis-
fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

From this example it can be seen that
the Pangwe act according to the princi-
ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had
likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village
feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial
causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out
the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible.
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"Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particularly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

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3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

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1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

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Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

b. Legal Power

698 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial [illegible]men, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [741] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 484 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

372 765 The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning*. I witnessed this ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the [783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

372 821 Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata* (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches, powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

● 628 691 Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me?" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests.

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes.

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have